The Role of Policy in Shaping English as a University Subject in Denmark

Book Section

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Introduction

This chapter focuses on how education policy plays a role in what constitutes the subject of English in university. It explores how and to what extent contemporary policies, devised in the context of an ongoing massification of higher education (Altbach et al. 2009), are reflected in an English Studies curriculum, using the University of Copenhagen in Denmark as a case study. As far as English Studies is concerned, the massification of higher education has fuelled anxieties, in the US at least, that "real English studies: the novel,

the sonnet" are going to be replaced by more vocationally relevant subjects such as "programs in ESL [English as a second language], remedial writing, business English, Anglophone area studies, rhetoric and composition, practical communication, applied linguistics, media arts, and so on" (English 2012: 109). There is concern, in other words, about what might be called a "vocationalization" of English Studies, in which its practical and utilitarian dimensions are prioritized over its intrinsic value.

Denmark is an apt case study for two reasons. First, English Studies in Denmark represents a typical continental European undergraduate degree programme in this subject with a tripartite structure of literature, language and culture (English 2012). In comparison, the US model typically focuses on literature alone, increasingly combined with a focus on creative writing as in the UK (English 2012; contributors to Engler and Haas 2000). English Studies at the University of Copenhagen has also existed as a degree programme for more a century (Nielsen 1979). Hence, the Danish case may be considered as a window into more general principles of how contemporary policies affect (or not) the curricular content of a typical well-established European undergraduate programme in English Studies.

Second, the Danish tertiary education system has not escaped the radical changes that have affected higher education systems in other countries in the developed world. Such changes stem from political initiatives to increase the proportion of people in post-compulsory education from a small élite of 5% of school-leavers in the 1950s to between 40 and 50% today (Smith 2014). This has put pressure on the system and forced universities to think in terms of the societal relevance of their modules, graduate employability, widening participation and student retention, progression and completion (Qenani et al. 2014; Hazelkorn 2011; Quality Assurance Agency 2009).

Using Denmark as a case study, this chapter examines the extent to which contemporary educational policy has an impact on English Studies as a subject. On the one hand, it might be expected that concerns with widening participation, completion and progression would prompt universities to review their curricula to better meet the greater diversity of the student body, perhaps by emphasizing employability and making courses more vocationally relevant. On

the other hand, universities are known to be resistant to change as they are "deeply affected by […] structures whose nature and meaning have been institutionalized over many centuries" (Meyer et al. 2007: 187). Writing about the Danish situation, Christiansen et al. suggest that such conservatism may make it difficult for teachers to be innovative:

> Universities are […] institutions with a long history, and they can in many ways be described as *conservative institutions*. Even if this conservatism may sometimes feel like a burden if a teacher wants to tread new and unknown paths, it is precisely this conservatism which has helped retain them as central institutions in society since the middle ages (2013: 17-18; translated from Danish by the author, emphasis in original).

Given the tension between innovation and conservatism, it is not straightforward to predict whether or not political changes will influence the nature of what is being taught as part of an English Studies degree at a Danish university.

As a secondary concern, the chapter will also consider another set of policies indirectly related to massification. These centre on internationalization and EU harmonization. Since Denmark's ratification of the Bologna Declaration in 1999, Danish universities have had targets to attract international staff and students. Increased transnational mobility has led to a dramatic rise in the use of English as a medium of instruction, with about a quarter of post-graduate degree programmes now being delivered in English (Hultgren et al. 2014; Hultgren et al. 2015). Irrespective of 86% of Danes declaring that they are able to hold a conversation in English (European Commission 2012), this is arguably quite a dramatic shift considering that English is a foreign language in Denmark. At some universities in Denmark, the rise in English-medium instruction has led to the establishment of English language training, support and assessment centres.

Given the established presence of English Studies as a subject combined with the rise of English as a medium of instruction, Denmark is arguably a potentially illuminating case in terms of shedding light on the dystopian outcries briefly alluded to above. In other words, will current political changes, centred on massification, internationalization and EU harmonization, lead to an end to English Studies as "as we know it" (English 2012) and will

"real English studies: the novel, the sonnet" (English 2012: 109) give way to a vocationalization of English Studies?

The chapter compares the Copenhagen University English Studies curriculum of 2005 with that of 2012 with a view to finding out the extent to which the political reforms in the intervening period have had any effect on the latter version of the curriculum. As we shall see, the analysis suggests that there is little, if any, noticeable effect of the policies on the English Studies curriculum at least as it is laid out in course descriptions. In contrast to this, policies have had dramatic, often unintended, effects on the growth of English as a medium of instruction. Based on these findings, the chapter argues for the importance of distinguishing "English as a subject" from "English language training", and not assuming that the rise of the latter will have a detrimental effect on the former.

The chapter first provides some background information on English as a university subject in Denmark followed by an overview of the most relevant political reforms that have taken place in the Danish higher education landscape in the first decade of the new millennium. The chapter then compares the 2005 and the 2012 versions of the curriculum and, finding little difference, it considers some possible reasons for why the political reforms have not had any noticeable effect on the curriculum content. The chapter concludes by offering some speculations about the direction in which English, as a university subject and as a medium of instruction, respectively, is headed in the future.

English Studies in Denmark

Five out of Denmark's eight universities offer a BA programme in English Studies: the universities of Copenhagen, Aarhus, Aalborg, Southern Denmark and Roskilde. This chapter focuses on that offered by the University of Copenhagen, the largest and oldest university in Denmark dating back to 1479, but there is not a great deal of variation between the English Studies programmes offered (Department of Education 2014). As is typical in Europe (English 2012), a BA in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen cannot be studied on its own but must be taken either as a major or minor in combination with another subject in the humanities. If taken as a major, which is what we will focus on in this chapter, a

BA in English Studies constitutes 135 ECTS (European Credit Transfer System) units plus 45 ECTS units in a minor subject, which amounts to the normative 180 ECTS units for a 3-year qualification.

Given that the discussion below will focus partly on the extent to which political calls for professional relevance are incorporated into the English Studies curriculum, it seems relevant to mention that English is also offered as part of a combined degree, usually with a business angle. Thus, Aarhus University offers a BA programme in "International Enterprise Communication" where students can focus on English plus one other language: Spanish, French or German. Copenhagen Business School, in turn, offers "English and Organizational Communication" as a degree programme.

As can be seen from Figure 1, a BA in English Studies is a comparatively popular degree programme in Denmark, possibly because of a combination of the importance of the English-speaking world, low entry requirements and high job prospects. In 2011, 96% of English graduates were employed or in continued education within two years of graduation (Department of Education 2014). Law was by far the most popular degree programme in 2013 with more than twice as many enrolments as the second most popular degree programme, psychology. However, English fares relatively well in comparison to other subjects. Notably, it is chosen more often than Danish, which in some universities is referred to as "Nordic", i.e. the dominant language/culture of the region, and certainly a lot more often than French, which, like most modern foreign languages, but unlike English, has been in constant decline in recent years. Interestingly too, perhaps, English is more popular than some natural science subjects such as physics, biochemistry and, surprisingly perhaps, computer science.

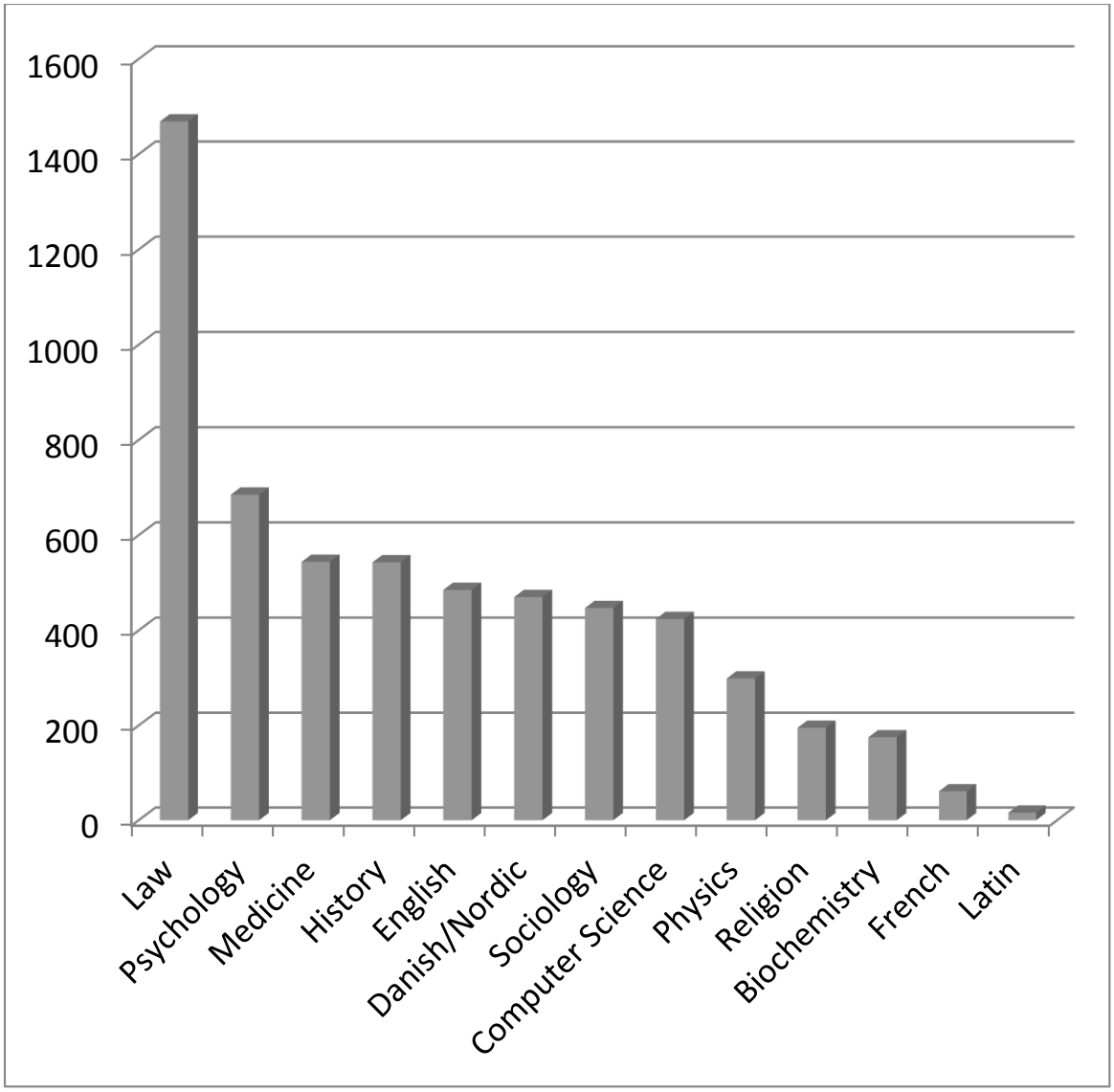

Figure 1: Number of enrolments at selected BA programmes in Denmark, 2013.[1] Source: Department of Education 2014.

Political reforms in Danish higher education

Despite many overt or covert political reforms aimed at curbing their autocracy, Danish universities maintain a high degree of autonomy (i.e. independence from the interests of the state and private sectors) in terms of research areas and teaching subjects (Christiansen et al. 2013; Wright and Ørberg 2008). In line with global currents, and spurred on by an eight-year rule of the Social Democrats (1993-2001), the first decade of the new millennium saw a string of political reforms in the higher and further education

area of Denmark by the new right-wing coalition government who had won the election under the campaign "Time for Change" [Tid til Fornyelse].

Two such policies, the Welfare Agreement and the Globalization Agreement are analysed below given their relevance for the higher education area, and the fact that they were published in 2006, i.e. shortly after the 2005 publication of the University of Copenhagen's English Studies curriculum but presumably with enough time for the reforms to take effect in the 2012 version of the curriculum. Despite a recent theoretical move to bottom-up, ethnographically-oriented approaches to educational policy (Menken and Garcia 2010), the focus in this chapter is on top-down policies in the form of state and government documents whose purpose it is "to steer the actions and behaviour of people" in a certain direction (Rizvi and Lingard 2010: 4). As is the norm of the multi-party consensus-based political system of Denmark, the policies have been proposed in agreement with other parties.

The Welfare Agreement is set against the backdrop of the growing strain on the welfare system by mass entry into higher education, which in Denmark is not only free but accompanied by very generous, by international standards, governmental stipends to all students. In light of this, as well as the fact that Danish graduates are typically four years older than the international average (Government of Denmark 2006a), the policy aims at ensuring faster completion rates. Concretely, this policy is operationalized by 1) raising the grade point average of prospective students with a gap year of less than two years, thereby encouraging earlier study start, 2) allowing students to take exams more frequently and through improved mentoring systems, thereby facilitating quicker progression and 3) rewarding those universities which ensure faster progression by a reallocation of funds (Government of Denmark 2006a). It also entailed imposing a deadline for the completion of BA projects (Christiansen et al 2013). Insofar as Rein's criteria for assessing the potential success of a policy are concerned, it would seem that this one stands a good chance of being successful in that it has clear and effectively operationalized goals and is backed up by substantial funding (Rein 1983). It is worth noting that this policy is an extension to another important policy introduced in 1994, known as STÅ (studenterårsværk, literally "students' year work"), which was premised on

governmental funds being released to universities on the basis of the number of students who passed all the exams for that year, providing yet another clear incentive for universities to be concerned with retention and progression (Christiansen et al. 2013). This, of course, is equally relevant to all university subjects as it is to English Studies.

The Globalization Agreement, in turn, was envisaged to invest the funds freed up by the Welfare Agreement to get more people into education and thereby strengthen Denmark's position in the global knowledge economy. The goal set by the Danish government is to have 50% of a generation in further education by 2015 and 25% in higher education by 2020, thus echoing the objectives set by the OECD (Government of Denmark 2006a; Government of Denmark 2011). Importantly, this needs to happen without compromising quality and by emphasizing relevance, i.e. the potential for graduates to make their education beneficial to society. Concretely, this policy was operationalized by establishing an independent quality assurance agency, ACE Denmark (akin to the QAA in the UK), with the purpose of assessing existing and new degree programmes in Denmark in terms of their quality and their relevance to societal needs. Programmes are assessed on five criteria: 1) the need for the programme on the employment market; 2) the extent to which it is research-led; 3) disciplinary profile and level; 4) structure and organization; and 5) the measures in place for continuous internal quality assurance. The policy also encompasses other concrete initiatives, such as providing continuing professional development of teaching staff and strengthening internationalization by easing the administrative burden for ingoing and outgoing staff and students.

The BA curriculum in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen

This section will focus on how English Studies is construed in course descriptions. Obviously, a range of other factors will also be relevant, e.g. how the planned curriculum is translated into practice by teachers and how it is understood by students (Bernstein 2000) just to mention two, but these are not the focus of this chapter. Supplementary data used for this chapter is in the form of email correspondence with Steen Schousboe, lecturer in

English language at the University of Copenhagen 1974-2015 and my Master's Thesis supervisor. The section serves two purposes: 1) to give an insight into what a BA in English Studies at a Danish university looks like and 2) to consider the extent to which the two policies discussed above have had an impact on the BA curriculum in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen.

In terms of the nature of the curriculum as such, the BA in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen represents a typical European BA in English Studies consisting of a largely equal proportion of literature, language and American/British culture (see Table 1). The European version has its origins in the 19th-century European tradition of classic philology and seeks to develop an understanding of language as well as literature and general knowledge as well as specific skills (English 2012; Engler and Haas 2000). Also worth bearing in mind are the Humboldtian principles of developing students into free thinkers, which underpin most university level programmes in Europe (Christiansen et al. 2013).

The study of English literature is wide-ranging and, in my own recollection of being an English student at the University of Copenhagen in the 1990s, challenging. As the study of canonical texts was arranged chronologically rather than by difficulty, I remember sweating over Beowulf and Chaucer as a newly enrolled student and finding Shakespeare a welcome reprieve. The reading list comprised both American and British authors, organized by period from Old and Middle English, the Renaissance, Restoration, Romanticism, through to modern and postmodern works, and students were required to be able to interpret the literary works against the period in which they were situated. Language modules comprise both phonetics, grammar and pragmatics. For both literature and language, the programme has the dual objective of developing students' conceptual understanding of these topics as well as their practical skills in analysing literature and speaking and writing in English. The study of society and history, finally, entails learning about the political systems in the US and Britain and major events in modern history such as Industrialization and the Marshall Plan. It is perhaps worth a comment that in contrast to the dramatic rise in Creative Writing modules in English-dominant contexts over the past three decades (English 2012), this does not exist as part of the English degree programme in Denmark which suggests national variation in the proliferation of the module.

Turning now to a look at how the curriculum might have changed in the seven-year period from 2005-2012, Table 1 shows that, apart from some minor reordering of elements, the content is strikingly similar (the few changes that have taken place have been italicized). The two components of "Textual Analysis and Academic Writing" in year 1, semester 1 have swapped places in the 2012 curriculum and so have "History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World 2" and "Phonetics and Grammar and Perspectives on Language" in year 1, semester 2. "Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study" has also been moved forward in the 2012 version. However, there is nothing in the more detailed course description to suggest that these changes reflect an actual change of the sequence in which the components must be studied, rather than an insignificant preference for the way in which the document is styled. Another minor adjustment has been made for the module entitled "Literature of the English-Speaking World" where "before 1800" has been added to the 2012 version. A more detailed look at the course description, however, suggests that this does not reflect a change in content, merely an added level of specification.

Another minor change is the removal of complete electivity for module 8 in year 2, semester 2. In the 2012 curriculum, each of the two 7.5-credit electives is sub-divided into a 2.5-credit component which assesses, respectively, the oral and written English proficiency of the candidate. While English proficiency might be said to be indirectly assessed through many of the other forms of assessment, mainly essay writing, these do not separate out English proficiency from a general treatment of the subject matter, and therefore do not actually document to future employers that English graduates are able to speak and write English to an adequate standard. Giving separate grades for English proficiency could perhaps be interpreted as doing just that and consequently to reflecting *some* consideration of societal relevance and employability. Again, however, a more detailed look at the course description suggests that this change too may be nothing more than a slight reordering of elements. It seems that the oral exam in 2012 may have been added as a result of another oral exam having been removed, more specifically the one which was part of the BA project. For the test in written proficiency, the electives in the 2005 curriculum also gave two grades for this, one for content and one for written English proficiency. Indeed, when I

was a student at the department in the 1990s, I recall being given separate grades for my oral and my written proficiency and that both these exams were compulsory. On closer inspection, then, this again turns out to be a case of making minor adjustments in the ordering of elements rather than any substantial changes.

One final change remains which might immediately strike us as being of a slightly more substantial matter. This is the abolishment in 2012 of the 7.5-ECTS point module "Postcolonial Studies". The departmental meeting minutes of 18 April 2012 mention a complaint raised by a small group of undergraduate students wishing to retain "Postcolonial Studies" as a core subject. The group's request was dismissed as follows: "The Study Committee wish to thank the students for the request, and express appreciation for their engagement, but wish to announce that the matter has already been extensively discussed among students and that the decision to make 'Postcolonial Studies' one of three electives has been made" (Study Committee 2012, item 9, my translation). No other rationale is given for its abolition. The reason for this, according to an inside source was a shift in the intellectual zeitgeist (Steen Schousboe, p.c.). In other words, just as the 1960s saw the establishment of many linguistics departments across the world as a result of Chomsky's generative paradigm, and their subsequent closure in the 1990s, postcolonial studies had its heyday in the 1990s but seems in Denmark to have lost its appeal in later decades.

There is one notable change in the curriculum content which seems to have happened in the period between my own time at the university in 1999 and 2005, i.e. before the implementation of the earliest curriculum examined in this chapter: the introduction of the subject "Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study (7.5)". This is a module which seeks to give students grounding in epistemology, theory and methodology, probably intended as a way of preparing them for the independence they will need to undertake their BA project, a component which was also introduced around the turn of the millennium. The introduction of this subject by the Danish Department of Education and the Danish university association (then, Rektorkollegiet) in 2001, could be interpreted as a well-documented focus on greater student electivity and flexibility partly motivated by a perceived need to develop them into independent life-long learners with transferrable

skills (Tight 2012), and partly, perhaps, by limited resources which have seen a need to cut down on taught classes. Indeed, the average twelve hours taught lessons per week received by English students at the University of Copenhagen has attracted considerable attention in Danish media because it is so slight (Gudmundsson 2012).

In sum, while we might have expected that at least some of the political reforms such as rewarding those universities who ensure faster progression through the system and quality assurance to ensure societal relevance might have led to a review of the curriculum, this does not seem to have happened in any major way.

English Studies BA Curriculum[2]			
2005 version		2012 version	
Module	ECTS	Module	ECTS
YEAR 1, SEMESTER 1			
Textual Analysis and Academic Writing Textual Analysis (7.5) Academic Writing and Language Awareness (7.5)	15	1. Textual Analysis and Academic Writing[3] *Academic Writing and Language Awareness (7.5)* Textual Analysis (7.5)	15
The History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World 1 The Makings of the English–Speaking World (7.5) Foundations of literature in	15	The History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World *before 1800* Foundations of literature in English before 1800 (7.5)	15

English (7.5)		The Makings of the English–Speaking World 1 (7.5)	
YEAR 1, SEMESTER 2			
3. History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World 2 British History and Literature (7.5) American History and Literature (7.5)	15	3. *Phonetics and Grammar and Perspectives on Language 1* Grammar and Perspectives on Language (7.5) English Phonetics and Oral Proficiency (7.5)	15
4. English Language 1 Grammar and Perspectives on Language (7.5) English Phonetics and Oral Proficiency (7.5)	15	4. The Newer History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World 2 The History (2) and Literature of the English-Speaking World after 1800 (15)	15
YEAR 2, SEMESTER 1			
5. English Language 2 and the History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World 3 *Postcolonial Studies (7.5)* Grammar and Perspectives on Language 2 (5) Modern Translation Studies	15	5. Grammar and Perspectives on Language 2 and Translation Grammar and Perspectives on Language 2 (7.5) Introduction to translation (7.5)	15

(2.5)			
6. Electives 1+2 Electives 1 (7.5) Electives 2 (7.5)	15	6. Electives 1+2 Electives 1 (7.5) Electives 2 (7.5)	15
YEAR 2, SEMESTER 2			
7. Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study and Translation Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study (7.5) Translation from Danish into English (4) Translation from English into Danish (3.5)	15	7. Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study and Translation Translation from English into Danish (3.5) Translation from Danish into English (4) *Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study (7.5)*	15
8. Electives 3+4 Electives 3 (7.5) Electives 4 (7.5)	15	8. Electives 3+4 *Electives 3 (5)* *Oral proficiency 3 (core) (2.5)* *Electives 4 (5)* *Written proficiency (core) 4 (2.5)*	15
YEAR 3			

9. BA Project + Minor BA project (15) Other subject (45)	60	9. BA Project + Minor BA project (15) Other subject (45)	60
Total	180	Total	180

Table 1: Comparison of the BA curriculum in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen 2005 and 2012.

Why does policy fail to influence the curriculum?

What are the reasons for the apparent lack of influence of policies on the curriculum content? One explanation is that the policies aimed at ensuring faster completion and progression do not do it through modifying (or simplifying) the curriculum content, but through administrative measures such as adding points to the grade point average of those students who do not delay the start of their study, i.e. do not take a gap year. Similarly, the establishment of the quality assurance agency (ACE Denmark) in between the period of the two versions of the curriculum is also indicative of a greater concern with quality control, accountability and key performance indicators, one that perhaps takes precedence over a concern with course content.

Indeed, according to Schousboe, the biggest change in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen was due to the STÅ policy (studenter årsværk, literally "students' year work") introduced in 1994 (Christiansen et al. 2013; Wright and Ørberg 2008). This policy is meant to ensure that governmental funds are released to students who have passed all the exams for that year, providing clear incentives for universities to focus on retention and progression.[4] My contact relays that before this policy was introduced, it would be quite possible to be a Professor of Indology or Aztec Studies if just one qualified candidate existed. However, when universities had to "earn" the funds needed for their appointments through the STÅ policy, there was no longer room for very narrow and exotic subjects or programmes nor for very narrow modules within a given subject.

> In those days, three students and one teacher could spend an entire term discussing Carnap's theory of truth or Reichenbach's theory of temporality and perfectivity in the

> English language. A lot of teachers including myself now feel that they can only teach overview modules, "Introduction to…". It rarely gets very thorough (Steen Schoesboe, p.c. 2014).

It has been argued that because universities have become economically accountable, and can even be declared bankrupt if they do not attain the required targets, academics' freedom is usurped. Possibly too because so many institutional and individual resources are devoted to meeting targets and quality assurance protocols, there is little time and energy left for innovating course content and material (Wright and Ørberg 2008).

However, it remains unclear to what extent greater academic freedom and lesser bureaucracy would actually entail curriculum change. Certainly, to me, who embarked on my English Studies at the University of Copenhagen in 1992, the curriculum was, in my distinct recollection, largely the same as its 2005 instantiation. Just as it does today, the programme consisted of a largely equal proportion of literature, language, and British or American culture and society, largely identical modules and syllabi and a possibility for students to choose if they wanted to focus on British or American literature and phonetics.

Going back even further in history, this tripartite structure of English language, literature and society seems to date back to more than a century ago when English Studies was first established as a subject in its own right at the University of Copenhagen. In 1883, requirements for English taken as a major at the University of Copenhagen included

> knowledge and understanding of the history and grammar of the language, skills in speaking and writing in the language and understand an unfamiliar text, knowledge of the culture and history as background to the literature, knowledge of literature history as well as some knowledge of dialects such as for instance Scottish and American. Students need to study Old and Middle English and of the newer literature, one needs to demonstrate knowledge of "the sublime authors" and study both poetry and prose. Finally, one needs to have specialized in a drama by Shakespeare and a piece of work from the 19th century (Nielsen 1979: 275, translated from Danish by the author).

Apart from an equal balance between language, literature and society, the idea of a two-fold provision of general knowledge as well as skills development also shines through in this extract (e.g.

"*skills* in speaking a writing" and "*knowledge* of the culture and history"). While Steen Schousboe points out that the subjects "history and grammar of the language", "literature history" and "reading skills in Old and Middle English" were all abolished in the 1970s he suggests that the reasons for this were rather to do with shifts in intellectual zeitgeist than any political initiatives. Nonetheless, despite such minor adaptations undertaken in line with the current intellectual climate, Nielsen himself notes at the time of writing this in 1979 how interesting it is to find that the curriculum has changed so little in the course of nearly a century.

As far as the BA curriculum in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen is concerned, then, it seems to be characterized by conservatism. The policies we have examined seem to be much more targeted at administrative and economically-driven performance indicators than at the subject content. Of course, it needs to be borne in mind that we have only focused on the planned or intended curriculum here as it is construed in course descriptions. The delivery of the curriculum may of course be different to reflect the much greater diversity of the student body that is the result of recent policy changes and ensuing mass education.

While this chapter has only focused on one degree programme at one university and generalizability cannot be assumed, especially given contemporary pressures on universities to individualize their course offerings, there is evidence that this conservatism is mirrored throughout Europe: "Browsing the European course catalogues, what is most striking is the curricular conservatism of English studies throughout that region, its capacity to maintain a fairly stable set of core texts and methods through an extended period of social and institutional tumult" (English 2012: 151-152).

Looking to the Future: English as a Subject versus English as a Medium of Instruction

What will the future bring for English Studies in Denmark and in Europe? Insofar as past developments are valid indicators of future trends, the above analysis appears to suggest that English as a subject is unlikely to change in fundamental ways. So it would seem that dystopian outcries about a perceived vocationalization or

instrumentalization of English Studies are unwarranted, at least where the University of Copenhagen is concerned and possibly elsewhere in continental Europe too. As James English puts it "In relative terms, and in a global perspective, the higher study of English literature has shown itself to be a surprisingly resilient and durable field of educational practice; its salvation is not the issue" (English 2012: 108). This observation contrasts markedly with views cited in the beginning of this chapter predicting the imminent demise of English Studies in its traditional form.

What is likely to change, however, or rather expand, is the skills-based need for English. In contrast to the apparent modest effect of policies on curriculum content, the growth in English-medium instruction seems to continue, with more and more universities across Europe adopting English as a medium of instruction (Hultgren, Jensen and Dimova 2015).

In contrast to what was the case with English Studies as a subject, this change can be directly traced to political changes. Among the most important ones are the Bologna Declaration and the creation of a European Higher Education Area, which sought to promote intra-European mobility in the higher education area. Although linguistic issues are blatantly absent from such policies, they have the unintended effect of increasing the amount of English used because intra-European mobility necessitates a shared language, which given today's linguistic ecology tends to default to English.

Importantly, however, this trend does not seem to happen at the expense of English Studies "as we know it" (English 2012), but as an entirely separate trend. James English, similarly, notes the explosion of centres across the world offering courses in English for Specific Purposes, and points to the National University of Singapore as an example where "a Centre for English Language Communication has been set up to teach courses like Business and Technical Communication or Law Intensive English, leaving the linguists in the English Department to teach such areas as Discourse Analysis, Semantics and Pragmatics, and Bilingualism" (2012: 122). At the University of Copenhagen too, a Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use was established in 2008 to assess the standard of English language skills and provide training where needed to those university lecturers who were required to teach in English despite not having English as their first

language. While this centre collaborates with the Department of English Germanic and Romance Languages where English Studies is housed, it operates independently.

Such a division between, on the one hand, English as a subject and, on the other, English as a set of language skills to be remedied, may be reflective of a wider pattern, which suggests that there is no need to fear that English Studies in its traditional form is going to be replaced by remedial English centres anytime soon. The two serve distinct and separate purposes. In other words, English as a university subject and English as a medium of instruction are two separate things that need to be kept apart analytically. As it seems, it is mainly or only the latter that is affected by policy and is undergoing considerable change. In Denmark and throughout continental Europe, English as a university subject seems to stubbornly continue in its century-old incarnation.

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[1] Roskilde University is not included in these numbers.

[2] See Study Committee (2005) and Study Committee (2012) in the bibliography

[3] In the 2005 curriculum, the module title is given in both Danish and English; in the 2012, it is given only in Danish, so the English translation from 2005 has been given.

[4] As further indication of the increased concern with measurability, key performance indicators were introduced in 2009 to measure *research* output in addition to *teaching* output (Wright and Ørberg 2008.)